1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

and are seldom fatal. Intestinal disorders and skin and eye infections and diseases are common and troublesome in the villages because of poor sanitary facilities and practices. These result, of course, from a general ignorance of the principles of sanitation and the causes of disease. Since the villagers know that these diseases are not usually fatal, they tend to avoid the expense and bother of consulting a doctor or going to a clinic, and the nonfatal illnesses often go untreated. Only the more educated villagers realize the importance of sanitation in preventing illness and are willing to take the trouble to maintain some semblance of sanitary practices.

The village water is commonly drawn from open wells. While the villager knows that drinking water is supposed to be boiled, he is usually satisfied if it comes close to the boiling point, or at best has just begun to boil. In visits to town he will frequently buy a drink from a street stand, and seldom consider whether the water used in the drink has been boiled. Intestinal illnesses are common, although the villagers frequently know enough to avoid serious difficulty.

Clothing is usually washed in the pond across the road which borders the village. The same pond is used by water buffalo for bathing and elimination, and the village storekeeper uses water from it to wash off ice before putting it in drinks or making a flavored shaved-ice refreshment. The village women wash their cooking and eating utensils in this same pond, and no one ever uses hot water and soap for these purposes.

Most villagers' houses are extremely cluttered and, in most cases, quite dirty. Major housecleaning and general cleaning of the village grounds are usually done only twice a year, immediately before the Chinese New Year and before the annual inspection of every house by police and public officials. This inspection was instituted by the Japanese, and has been continued by the local government under the mainlanders. Each house is examined for cleanliness and general neatness and receives a grade of excellent, pass, or fail. If a house fails the inspection, the family is liable to a fine and must remedy the condition.

The village has no running water. Water for household use is drawn from the open wells which are scattered around the village. Although open wells would seem to be a potential hazard for small children, few accidents occur, perhaps because young children are seldom allowed to crawl around on the ground and are usually in the care of an older child or an adult.

The only form of toilet facilities are outhouses, the small outside shelter with a hole in the floor formerly so common in rural America. The cleanliness of these facilities varies with the household. The contents are regularly collected and used to fertilize vegetable crops. This

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

knew she would eventually go blind, "by that time my children will be grown and able to take care of me." In the interim she would not take the time nor spend the money to obtain treatment.

There are several reasons for the high rate of intestinal and parasitic diseases. Although the villagers are aware that water should be boiled before drinking, they actually merely heat it. At the same time they court danger by buying drinks from sidewalk vendors in town. Facilities for washing dishes and other utensils are limited; much of it is done in the nearby pond which serves as the laundry and a bathing place for buffalo as well. Intestinal diseases are also caused by eating raw vegetables which were fertilized with human excrement.

These disorders common in the village do not usually cause alarm. When a familiar illness strikes, the patient may be given some patent or herbal medicine and the illness allowed to run its course. Childhood diseases are common and produce little anxiety. However, there is a fear of diseases whose origin is poorly understood, which produce curious symptoms, and for which no cures are known. When one of these illnesses strikes, a Western-style doctor is called in to administer penicillin or so.ne other drug. The general feeling is that Western medicines, if they are appropriate for the illness, effect fast cures. While many villagers insist that Chinese medicines are just as effective if not more so in the long run, in that they produce a more permanent cure, they readily admit that Chinese medicines are slower to work than Western ones. If the Western medicines fail to help and the patient does not seem to recover quickly enough, or if the illness is very unusual, the villagers conclude that the disorder is caused by some supernatural agent and must be dealt with by magical means. (A detailed discussion of supernatural explanations for illness and the remedies used to cure them is found in Chapter 8.) Most of the diseases prevalent locally are not fatal, and old age seems to be the main cause of death in the Hsin Hsing area.

DEATH, BURIAL, AND MOURNING

The villagers' attitude toward the rituals and ceremonials associated with death vary for the most part with the age and status of the deceased and the economic condition of the family. An old person is almost always given an elaborate, very expensive funeral which entails lengthy mourning rituals. This is also true for a younger adult who leaves children and therefore has status in the community. Young people and children are given a rather simple funeral unless the family is financially well-off. A funeral ceremony is very rarely held for an infant or child under a year old.

The villagers believe that the individual has three spirits. At death

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

great hunks of snowy fat (the poor man's meat), buckets of blood and entrails. The fish stalls, less gory and less colorful, abound with local river fish and a few ocean fish brought in on the early train, some swimming in buckets, others gutted but missing no eyes—a great delicacy, or tails—a matter of aesthetics. And everywhere there are chickens, ducks, geese, both live and dead. The smells to a foreign nose are sometimes exhilirating, sometimes appalling; the sounds are bewildering. The day's fowl quack, cluck, and honk their distress; above their protest the voices of customers and merchants rise and fall. The din of heated bargaining blends a variety of languages. The farmers speak either Hokkien or Hakka, the native Chinese dialects of the island; a few merchants and their friends converse in Japanese; policemen and soldiers prefer Mandarin, the official language.

Away from the uproar of the market, Tapu's streets seem relatively calm. The paved main street ends at the canal, an irrigation ditch civilized by concrete banks for its passage through town. In several places, steps that lead into the canal end in small platforms where the storekeepers' wives and daughters can do their laundry while keeping an eye on the store. There are more shops on both sides of the canal: a small bookstore, a tailor, a fabric and ready-made clothing store, a photographer, and a paper store that supplies school children with copy books and pencils, and adults with the paraphernalia of worship—metal wires dipped in incense and bundles of spirit money burned to provide for the deceased. One of my favorite shops is that of the *beidz*-maker who fills the air with a lively rhythmic chwing-chwing sound as he fluffs cotton into puffy battings for warm winter comforters. A little farther down the street a noodle-maker is usually at work. He suspends strips of dough between pegged poles which he gradually moves farther and farther apart as the noodles stretch and dry. Just beyond the noodle-maker is a small, paved square, formed where the canal goes underground. This is the site of a shrine dedicated to Tu Ti Kung, the lowest ranking god in the Chinese supernatural bureaucracy. Tu Ti Kung serves his celestial superiors as the official recorder of the activities of the living. In the country, he is the guardian of the land and the god of agriculture; in the town, he is considered a patron of business and a god of wealth. The responsibility for burning incense at his shrine each morning rotates among the families residing in his district.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Moreover, efficient transportation brought some light industry to Tapu itself. Instead of working with their fathers on the land as they had for centuries, young men began going to the factories. The wages they brought home often made the difference between having just enough to eat and having plenty to eat. Few farmers sold their land or gave up farming, but by 1960, nearly every family had at least one member working outside the village for a cash income to supplement the seasonal income from the land.

During the period in which they were building the railroad, the Japanese also built a large network of irrigation canals in the Taipei basin, easing greatly the burden of Peihotien's farmers. An irrigation dam built across the river a mile or so upstream from the village lowered the frequency of flooding in the village and ended completely the economic usefulness of the river. Large boats can no longer go freely up and down the stream, and fishing has disintegrated to a sport enjoyed by village boys. The only economic value the river now has for villagers is in the employment of a few of the more destitute women. Building contractors hire them on a piece-work basis to gather stones of a particular size for making concrete. The work is hot, heavy, and miserably paid, but it is vital to several village families during the seasons when the women can find no work weeding fields or cleaning vegetables for market.

Nowadays the river is considered at best a convenient supply of water and at worst a threat, be it real or imagined. Every morning a dozen or so women come down to the river's edge to do their laundry and gossip, and in the evening the village water buffalo are allowed a leisurely soak in the shallow water. For the greater part of the day the beach is deserted. An occasional handful of children venture down to play in the sand, but for most of them the river area is forbidden. During the hot days of summer, busy mothers are hard put to keep their children from wading and by the time they are through primary school, most boys have learned to swim by one stratagem or another. Parental fears are not unjustified. Besides the many drownings that resulted from capsized ferries in the old days, there have been several swimmers lost in more recent years. To the villagers these past drownings add immensely to the realistic dangers of the river since it is believed that the souls of those who drown must remain in the water as unhappy ghosts until they pull in another victim to take their place.

A man in his forties described the ways of ghosts in telling me

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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because they were afraid it was dangerous, but Old Tan wouldn't let them because he thinks it's his son."

The children have heard this story many times but it no more prevents them from spending long afternoons playing under the tree than the ghost in the pig pen prevents them from hiding there when their mothers are searching for them.

For the children, the women, and a good many of the men, the significant dimensions of the world are the thirty-five or forty brick buildings of Peihotien. With the dramatic increase in population on Taiwan, one corner of a neighboring village now lies just across a paddy field from Peihotien. Yet a woman in search of a moment's chat or a few slices of ginger would rather walk further, within the boundaries of Peihotien, than step across the paddy field to the nearby village. The children of the neighboring villages all go to the same school, but their after-school play groups are composed of village mates—even if they must fill out a team with underaged siblings. A farmer's small plots of land may be scattered among those of farmers from several villages, but in the evening when he is puzzling out a new directory from the Farmer's Association or worrying about the market prices, he does it with the men of Peihotien who may work fields a mile in the opposite direction from his own.

There are several places in the village where groups of adults may be found gossiping or working together at various times of the day. On warm summer evenings the men often fill their rice bowls and retire to the doorstep to eat and chat with a neighbor similarly occupied. A group of families usually share a well and hand pump, and two or three women are there at almost any hour washing out a few clothes not worth carrying all the way to the river, rinsing off a dirty child, or preparing vegetables for the evening meal. The women who live near the irrigation ditch that skirts one edge of the village often gather by the little bridge to clean out a clumsy kettle or rinse out some diapers. A concrete platform on one side of the bridge makes it a popular cooling-off place for children who do not dare go into the river and aren't allowed to play in the precious well water.

For adults the most frequent informal gatherings occur in the three shops of the village. Two of the shops are so small that it takes a practiced eye to identify them. On the square behind the house in which we lived, a family sells cigarettes, matches, a few candies, toilet paper, and similar small items. Here, probably because the family

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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ceased when she entered the family of Tan. Even though she had been an adopted daughter in the Lim house for ten years, she had been sent with all propriety to the home of her future husband. If she left that family as a respectable bride, she should have brought her troubles back to them, or even to her natal family if she knew their whereabouts. Instead, A-hong always brought her problems home to the Lims. A quarrel with the man who was currently supporting her was grounds for a week's vacation at the Lim's. If she had trouble finding a new "friend," she stayed for awhile with the Lims. Her eldest daughter, Chun-ieng, spent as much of her childhood under the care of Lim Hán-ci's wife and Lim A-pou as she did with her mother. Why Tan A-hong felt she could make such demands on the family, and why they allowed it, is a puzzle, but she continues to do so to this day.

Chun-ieng was born during the war. Many children were sent into the country during those years to protect them from the American bombings and so Chun-ieng, of course, was sent to the Lims. A-hong's second child was a son. When he was five or six, A-hong was living with a man, apparently not his father, in Tainan. They quarreled one evening and in a fit of temper she ran out, leaving him with the boy. She stayed away for nearly two weeks, during which time the boy contracted measles. A-hong's gentleman friend did his best at an unfamiliar job, but when A-hong recovered her good humor and returned, her son was dead. Sometime later she adopted a daughter who succumbed to a similar disease before she was old enough to walk. Finally, in A-hong's fortieth year, when her fading looks had forced her to work in the least desirable brothels of Tainan, she gave birth to her daughter, Chai-ngo.

When I met Tan A-hong, it was as hard to believe that she was only forty-five as it was to believe that she had once been a very pretty woman. She is quite short, fine boned, with delicate wrists and ankles, but now her back is stooped and her shoulders hunched, perhaps, as many people suggest, from the long hours she spends at the gambling tables. Her face is beautifully proportioned with a small, thin nose, high cheek bones, fairly large eyes and a fine wide brow. But now, her cheeks are sunken and lined, and her high cheek bones suggest too strongly the skeleton that lies beneath the sallow, muddy skin. Her hair is no longer thick, but it is still unusually fine in texture. She combs it so rarely that its quality goes unnoticed. She dresses in the fashion of the poorest village wife, sloppily and with not a few greasy

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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spots on her skirt—but the sweater she throws over her shoulders is often imported. Her voice is shrill or gives that impression because she is nearly always scolding or complaining about something, but one can imagine that it was once a light feminine soprano.

Tan A-hong had not had any permanent "friends" for some time before Chai-ngo was born, and after her birth she found it more and more difficult to make a living. Chun-ieng was sent out to work. She was nineteen when I first met her and had been working as a prostitute for four years. To me she seemed more like a sophisticated American teenager than the timid giggling village girls her age. She was considerably less curious about us then were her contemporaries in the village, but far less hesitant about satisfying her curiosity. The village girls went into paroxysms of shyness if I asked them a question, but Chun-ieng howled at my accent and then good-humoredly tried to answer my questions. I rarely saw her interacting with anyone her own age in the village, but she joins the games of small children with an abandon and glee that would bring blushes of shame to the cheeks of her stodgy peers. The childish pleasure she finds in cooking, in feeding the family's dog, or in watching a newly hatched flock of ducks is both unaffected and pathetic. When she is in the village, Chun-ieng dresses soberly and wears little or no make-up, but she is undeniably different from the other girls her age. Her upright bearing, her poise in conversation, and even her smooth, pale skin are out of place in the muddy lanes and the coarse brick farmhouses. She is tall, unlike her mother, but her bones have the same delicacy. Her face is long and thin, giving her high cheekbones the drama that her mother's lack. Her eyes are a bit too small, but she shapes her eyebrows carefully to minimize the defect. She doesn't cut her fine black hair, nor allow it to be frizzed by cheap permanents. Often in the village she pulls it back into a pony tail, giving her an innocent Alice-in-Wonderland look. She loves to gossip and has great skill in spinning a simple anecdote into an intriguing story. Without slipping into vulgarity, she can entertain the rather staid women of the Lim household with endless stories about her work—she can even keep Lim A-pou sitting for awhile. There is always more laughter in the house when Chun-ieng is home.

Prostitutes in Peihotien occupy a rather ambiguous position, resembling in no way the status forced on a prostitute, retired or active, in an American small town. They are considered "more inter-

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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a sincerity that frightened all of us, stood her ground and encouraged her mother. "Kill me. I truly don't care. Just kill me and be done with it." Lim A-pou pushed the girl out of the room.

Tan A-hong often accuses the Lims of conspiring with and pampering her daughter. Her accusations are not unjustified. The Lims keep Chun-ieng's secrets, hide her money, and even find time in their busy schedule to do her laundry when she is in the village. One day when the women were washing clothes at the river, I overheard the following exchange between A-bok's wife, A-ki, Iu Mui-mue (another adopted daughter of the Lim family), and a neighbor.

The neighbor asked, "Isn't that Chun-ieng's blouse?" A-ki nodded. The next question was inevitable. "Does she pay you for that?"

A-ki answered diffidently, "No, I only wash a few things for her when she is here."

Iu Mui-mue laughed and said, jealously, "She doesn't pay you, but she bought your baby an outfit that cost over a hundred dollars."

A-ki giggled and said, "That is why we say we are going to give her my daughter to be her adopted daughter."

Mui-mue responded, scornfully amused, "Adopted daughter! Yes, you'll give her to Chun-ieng now, but when she gets older, you'll want her back."

A-ki, still giggling, said, "That's just what Chun-ieng said the other day. She said, 'Oh, I'll adopt you now, little girl, and feed you, and when you get old enough to earn some money, you will give it all to your mother and not to me. No sense feeding you!' I told her she was the same way. Mother [A-pou] fed her when she was little, but now when she makes money, she gives it all to her own mother."

Mui-mue retorted, "She gives money to Lim A-pou, too."

A-ki was quite indignant. "She only gives her a few dollars now and then—nothing like she gives her mother."

Mui-mue countered that easily. "Well, A-hong has nobody to eat with [no family], so of course she has to give her more money."

A-ki began to worry that she had said too much. "Chun-ieng treats her mother very well. She buys her the best food and lots of nice clothes and gives her money to gamble with. She treats her very well."

The neighbor, one of A-hong's gambling companions, disagreed.

traditional high-necked slit-side dress) of dark coarse material for work. Younger women do have chi pao of fine material which they wear for important affairs. However, in the recent period, a chi pao is usually first acquired for an engagement or wedding. Younger girls usually wear Western-style outfits for trips to town. Women usually carry umbrellas to protect against rain and sun alike. At night, women too wear pajamas but less often than men wear them out on the street in the evening. Footwear is not unlike that for men except that young women more often wear Western-style cheap shoes. Women also are more likely to wear traditional cloth slippers in the home.

Special identifying haircuts are required of students. Men go to the barber about once every two weeks and usually have a shampoo and a shave as well as a haircut. Women in Sanlei very seldom go to a beauty shop although there is a beautician in the Erhlei barber shop. Young women wear makeup now for trips to town although teased by villagers, "You look like a prostititue" (see Glossary C). Parents attempt to control their daughter's dress and behavior but do not have much success. The girls are now earning money and are economic assets. If they are treated too harshly, they can easily move to the city or to a factory dormitory.

Clothing in the village is worn until it falls apart. There are many patches and even patches on patches.

361 it but, near the center of the village, turns and runs
[296] down the village slope. At the turn-about spot, a con-
crete pond (five feet by ten feet by eight inches) was
[312] built for convenience in washing clothes. From the pond
on down the slope, village houses could pipe water into
their houses by gravity feed from the brook by means of
rubber hoses, but from the pond up the slope, it was
necessary to carry water in buckets. This activity gives
a name to two sections of the village: shang shui (above
the water) and sya shui (below the water) although the
dividing line is not clear. The smallest and least
significant neighborhood unit is separated from these two
neighborhoods by the river which runs down the middle of
the valley (See Figure 2).

361 The "above the water" section contains the original
62 village settlement and continues to be the dominant section
in village affairs. Most of its chia chang (family heads)
are surnamed Liao and three of the four not surnamed Liao
are related to a Liao: two are related by marriage and the
third is the step-brother diagrammed in Figure 8. Impor-
tant individuals in this section include the Li Chang
(mayor), representative to the farmers' association, and
the Small Unit Head (local subunit of the farmers'
association). This section also includes the village
temple and the store which has the largest sales in the
village and which is owned by one of the wealthier Liao
families whose head is an informal leader and a member of

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village, especially in light of the fact that long-established lineages are disappearing throughout Taiwan.

Women's Work Groups

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There are various work activities performed by women: some as a member of a team, some individually but in the company of others, and some as isolates working alone. Many of the work groups have existed with the same membership for many years. In general, most work groups are organized on an age basis which rarely exceeds a period of a few years.

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Six days a week women wash, sometimes seven. There are three major washing locations in Sanlei Ts'un: one at the previously described artificial pond and the other two in the river, one close and convenient to the village center and the other upstream a distance across a narrow bridge. Some people wash in the morning and some in the afternoon, each wash requiring an hour or more of labor. Each woman is responsible for her own washing although occasionally, a woman will wash for a fee which goes into the regular family pool. Although some women wash individually, many wash in social groups although each person does her own. People frequently evaluate a woman's ability as a housekeeper on the basis of the cleanliness of her wash. While washing, there is considerable latitude for conversation, and although the women themselves are not consciously aware of the constraints of the pattern, there are seven regular washing groups, membership from day to

462 476 • 296 day rarely varying. Each of the seven groups has a constant nucleus although a number of other women attach themselves to each group periodically. If a woman is ill for a couple of days or more, her washing responsibilities will be borne by a kinswoman in her household; if she is not in an extended family, by a fellow member of her regular wash group.

462 476 245 There are three groups of women who grade tea on a piece-work basis. They work for any tea processor who requires sorting as there is no necessary relationship between a particular processor and a particular work group. The goal is to sort the leaves (high grade) from the twigs, pieces, and stems (low grade) in a flat bamboo basket, six feet in diameter, which holds processed tea. Four to six women can sit around the basket and sort together while chatting but, of course, it is also [465] possible to work alone. The work is easy and with a half-hour's instruction, anyone can earn $2.00 to $3.00 per [88?] hour on a piece-work basis. This activity is usually performed by old women and occasionally by very young girls. Three groups of old women constitute the regular work teams, sharing equally in the piece-work income although quite aware that some women work faster than others. They work out in the courtyard when the weather is nice and in anyone's house who has space when it is cold or wet.

There are two other important income-earning work activities usually performed only by women, tea picking

512 [518] he peddles off in his three-wheeled cart alone for the city [262] to arrive in the market by 5:15 a.m. About 4:00 a.m. the [443] second man in the village is up and quickly heads for the [782] temple carrying incense sticks and flowers for worship in fulfillment of a pledge to the gods for relieving his prostrate trouble. The noise he makes starts others stirring. [514] As people rise, they usually head for the outhouse and then [515] into the courtyard or kitchen to wash. The wash water is at air temperature and therefore, often chilly in the cool morning at dawn's light.

[296] By 4:30 a.m., the first group of six women is off to [264] the river to wash clothes together. They have eaten a handful of cold rice and will prepare and eat breakfast after they return about an hour later. By the end of the next [264] hour, there are few silent households. The active married women are up first and after ablutions, start the fire for breakfast although about one of five families will have a cold meal. Women are followed by the children, awakened by the noise in the kitchen. Few people are ever formally called and told it is time to get up. The active mature men are last to arise except for the occasional old person who may sleep until very late.

512 782 Before breakfast, a representative for each household worships in the kung t'ing with incense sticks. This is supposed to be the oldest male in the household but it appears that women perform the task about half the time. Although